291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 75 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

291 Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoanghohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

261 826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most 302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaś. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers. [413] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [881] [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only. They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation [827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in 751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible 114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his 304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitáua.

304 413 [192] The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it makes, namely, chainiśua. It is a triangular gourd fragment

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kanuana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9). [531] [881] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining material, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends.

[462] As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

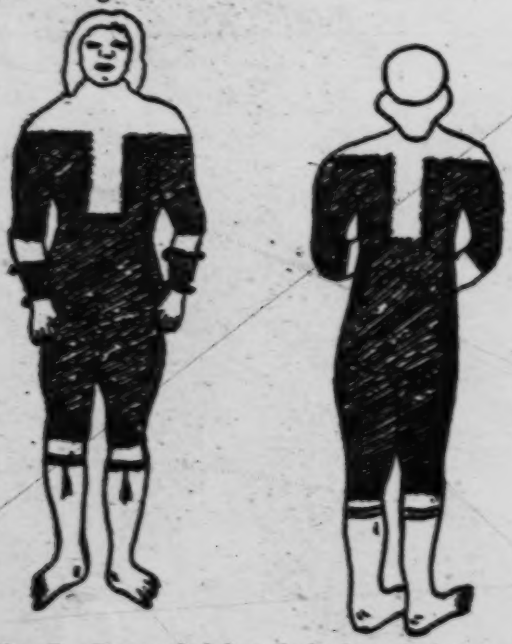

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

114 302 •751 There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

urucú "stockings" are often applied, are one of the body parts most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome insects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

The supposition that body painting originally had a magical purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time, would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

262 824 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit" in the Paressi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled [252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

243 252 262 824 These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L., avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed.; the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

244 252 262 824 The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded, and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 824 [462] [241] [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts, maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that requires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's [351] first two years so as not to endanger his life.

137 17 244 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Case of Ipawungi

Ipawungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw *ančúnga* but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the *ančúnga* he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-rei — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective measure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipawungi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

Case of Càmpukwi

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many tapi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*panche*) see malevolent beings in their dream travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown.

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

755 [276] rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 [275] [789] Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (ančunga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the [787] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the [171] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apũwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apũwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamũ is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampúawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wančina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Baldus, 1935, 1937; Bigorre, 1916, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.